

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XXIII. No. 6.] LONDON, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1813. [Price 1s.

161]

Letter II.

## TO THE THINKING PEOPLE OF ENGLAND,

ON THE AFFAIRS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

THINKING PEOPLE,

Before we come to consider the arguments in support of that opposition, which the City of London, in its corporate capacity, is making to the intended measure of opening the trade to the East Indies, I think it right to offer you some further remarks upon what has been said relative to the *new power and influence, which such a measure must throw into the hands of the ministry at home.*

I noticed, in my last, an idea of Mr. Birch and of Mr. Favell, that the measure, by taking the government, and, of course, the army and revenue of India, out of the hands of the East India Company, the ministry would become possessed of so much power, that . . . that . . . that *God knows what they might do!* I will now cite a passage from the Morning Chronicle, which passage was published upon the first appearance of the correspondence inserted in my last Number.—"We this day lay before our readers the correspondence that has taken place between the Court of Directors and the President of the Board of Control. There never came before the public eye a correspondence pregnant with results so important and alarming; for the letter of Lord Buckinghamshire, in the most summary and cavalier style, gives the India Company only the alternative of the surrender of a material part of their rights, or the unconditional transfer of the whole management and power of India to Ministers. He will submit to no previous discussions. He bids them hunt for information among the Memorials and Petitions from the Out-ports; but demands the concurrence of the Company to the opening of the trade, before he will enter into an explanation of the rules by which it shall be regulated. The question of a partial opening of the India trade, or of

[162

"the strict maintenance of the Charter, is of such magnitude as to demand the most grave and deliberate attention. He must have a very comprehensive mind indeed, that can, at a first view, decide on the national policy of the measure. We certainly do not feel ourselves competent to form such a judgment. But on the alternative, namely, that if the Company do not implicitly acquiesce in the principle of the measure without inquiry or explanation, the result may be the TRANSFER OF THE WHOLE TO GOVERNMENT, there can be but one opinion, viz.:—that it would be CONSTITUTIONAL RUIN. The dissolution of the India Company could not take place without bringing with it a national bankruptcy, and that must be followed by military despotism. A correspondence, therefore, of more dreadful import was never laid before the public, and we earnestly request our readers to give it the attention which it deserves."

At the first blush there appears to be something so wild in this; there appears to be something so mad in the notion, that the constitution of England is to be destroyed; that a national bankruptcy is to be produced; that a military despotism is to be established, by the dissolution of a Company of merchants; there seems to be something so crazy, or, more politely speaking, so *delirious*; it seems to proceed from something so much like one of those "exacerbations," vulgarly called fits; the thing seems to be so much of this character, that I should not have thought it worthy of notice, had it not issued through the chief organ of the Whig faction. What an opinion, however; what a contemptuous opinion must the writer have of the intellects of his readers, to put forth such extravagant notions! We are, indeed, in a pretty state, if what he says be true. A charter is granted to a company of merchants to trade to one of our colonies; the term of the charter is about to expire; and, we are told, that, if we do not renew the charter, we shall be placed under a *military despotism!* Verily a man must have screwed up



his nerves into a very tight state, before he could hazard such an assertion.

In *what way*, I should be glad to know, is the dissolution of the East India Company to produce this terrible effect? To point out this, was the duty of the Morning Chronicle; and not having done it, his assertion might be dismissed, without further notice, it being incumbent on no one to produce proof, or argument, in refutation of that, which has not been attempted to be proved. Nevertheless, as the matter is of great importance, I will put here a few questions to this writer. And in the first place, I ask him, whether it be likely, that a national bankruptcy will arise from the dissolution of a Company, the affairs of which Company are in such a state as to require the aid of the Government to keep the Company itself from becoming bankrupt? I ask whether this be likely? For some years past, the East India Company has been borrowing money, or rather bank-notes, from the national Government; it has come to the Government, and has got from it *accommodations*; the Government has lent it bank-notes to the amount of millions. I will not encumber my argument with the items in detail; but I state distinctly, that this East India Company has had bank-notes to the amount of millions of pounds, lent to it by the Government, in order to enable it to pay its *dividends*; for, Thinking People, this Company has its *National Debt*, and its *dividends*, in the same manner that the Government at Westminster has! Now, if the Company cannot pay its way without the assistance of the nation; if it be compelled to borrow money of the nation in order to pay its dividends; if this be the case (and the Morning Chronicle does not deny the fact), how is the dissolution of this Company to make the nation itself a bankrupt? I shall be told, perhaps, that, if the Company's Charter be not renewed, it will not be able to pay its debts, or the interest on its debts; and, that, the East India Stock-holders being thus ruined, an alarm will be spread amongst the stock-holders of the nation; that the funds will fall to a very low price, and that thus a national bankruptcy will be produced. But, how is this to happen? The Government would only have to guarantee the payment of the interest upon the India stock, in order to prevent any such alarm; and that, in fact, it now does, by the advances which it makes to the Company, in order to enable it to pay its dividends. The truth is, that, in case of a

dissolution of the Company, the Government must guarantee the payment of the interest upon its debts, or else, the whole of the funding fabric would be instantly blown into the air; but, no injury could arise from this; because, as I have before shown, the Government is, at this time, and long has been, surety for the payment of the interest on the Company's debts.

Another question that I should wish to put to this gentleman is, where he has made the discovery, that, what he calls a national bankruptcy "*must be followed by a military despotism!*" But, perhaps, it will be best, first to ask him what it is that he means by a *military despotism*? Does he mean that state of things, where there is nothing existing in the name of *law*; where there are no tribunals, with people sitting in them, called judges; where there are none of those persons called peace-officers, police-officers, commissioners of taxes, surveyors of taxes, supervisors of taxes, assessors of taxes, collectors of taxes, excise-men, custom-house-officers, tide-waiters, &c. Does he mean a state of things, wherein all these are unknown, and where the taxes are collected and offenders against the Government are punished through the instrumentality of *soldiers only*? If he does, then I tell him that he means to describe a state of things which never existed in any nation in the world. If he means a state of things where the Government has the absolute command of so large a military force, as completely to preclude, or to render desperate, any attempt at resistance on the part of the people, let the acts of the Government be what they may; if he means this state of things, then I call upon him to show how the dissolution of the East India Company; I call upon him to show, how a national bankruptcy can possibly be big with the danger which he affects to anticipate.

By national bankruptcy, he means, doubtless, as others have meant, *a ceasing to pay at the Bank the interest of the national debt*. But, is he not deceived as to the course which things will naturally take in this respect? The Bank continues to pay the dividends on the debt, as promptly as it paid them before the stoppage in 1797. It pays, indeed, in *paper*, instead of hard money, and so it will continue to do, as long as the paper will pass current at all. There may come a time when the paper will be worth very little; or, in other words, when it will require a great deal of it to purchase the same quantity of goods





that may be purchased with a silver shilling; but still, the Bank will keep on paying the interest of the national debt, and as long as it does that, who can, with propriety, say, that a *national bankruptcy* has taken place?

However, suppose that there should come a time, when even the paper money cannot be made fast enough for the due discharge of the dividends. The supposition is quite beyond the compass of probability; but, let us, for argument's sake, adopt it. What then? Why, then there is a national bankruptcy. But, *why* should this be followed by a military despotism? In order to get rid of all dispute about the meaning of the words *military despotism*, we will take it for granted that the writer means a state of things, in which *the Government would possess a more complete and absolute control over the purses and persons of the people than it now possesses*. We will not stop to inquire what sort of control that must be; but we will take it for granted, for the sake of the argument, that the thing is possible, and then it remains for this writer to show us, *how* such a state of things is likely to be produced by the total discredit of bank-paper.

It is, I believe, universally acknowledged, that, without the aid of bank-paper, the Government, on its present system, could not have been carried on unto this day. It has been a hundred times asserted in the houses of parliament, that it is the bank-paper which has enabled the Government to engage in, and to prosecute, these long and destructive wars. In short, it is pure waste of time to attempt to show, that the Government, on its present system of great power, has derived its chief support from bank-paper, and that the system depends for its existence upon the bank-paper. *How*, then, is it possible, that the annihilation of that paper should give to the Government a more complete and absolute control over the purses and persons of the people than it now possesses? How is it possible, that additional strength should be produced by the total destruction of that, which, up to this moment, has been the principal source of strength?

I might stop here; for, until this question be answered, nothing more can be necessary in the way of refutation of the assertion before us. But, I will anticipate, that this writer means, that the destruction of the paper money must be followed by the destruction not only of the present system of sway, but also of the whole form of the

government; and that, hence would necessarily ensue that state of things, whatever it may be, which he denominates a *military despotism*; and by which we must suppose that he means a Government possessing a more complete and absolute control over the purses and persons of the people than the Government, on its present system, possesses.

Now, upon *what grounds* does he presume, that the destruction of the paper-money must be followed by the destruction of the whole form of our government? When men are advancing assertions of such import, they ought to back them with proof, or, at least, with an attempt at proof, if they expect them to have any weight with men of sense. When a man was asserting, in terms so unqualified, that the King, Lords, Commons, courts of justice, laws, customs, and usages of the country; when he was asserting that the existence of all these hung upon the credit and durability of a paper-money, which he himself has a hundred times asserted to be in a state of rapid depreciation; that is to say, rapidly tending towards destruction; when he was making this assertion, he should not have contented himself; he should not have thought that he had done his duty until he had produced something, at least, in its support.

For my part, I think better of the government of England. In spite of all that has been done for the last thirty years, I am persuaded that there is still good stuff enough in this form of government to prevent its resting for support solely upon a paper-money; and I love to indulge this opinion, because I see the paper-money tending to total annihilation. If we consult experience, we find, that the fall of a paper system is not necessarily followed by the destruction of a constitution of government. This writer has in his eye the *example of France*; but why lose sight, at the same time, of the example of America? The latter presented itself with full as much prominence as the former, and, I should have thought it much more applicable to our case. The destruction of a paper-money, by which a certain system of rule has long been supported, will naturally and inevitably produce a great change in that system. It will, in most cases, cause power, in some degree, to change hands; but, it does not necessarily produce a destruction of the form of government, as we see in the experience of America, and more recently in the experience of Austria. And



in no case, that I have ever heard of, has it tended to produce a military despotism, or to put into the hands of any government more power than it had before. It is not in the nature of things that the destruction of the paper-money in England should prove injurious to the real constitution of England. That constitution existed, kings reigned, freely chosen parliaments taxed the people, and justice was administered in mercy long before a paper-money was heard or thought of; and, I am yet to hear *reasoning*, before I shall believe, that these cannot be hereafter without the existence of a paper-money.

The assertion is again made by this writer, too, that the transfer of the whole government of India from the hands of the Company to the hands of the Ministers, would be ruinous to the *constitution*. It is very difficult to determine, or even to guess at, what the Morning Chronicle means by the *constitution*; but one may ask him, what new power it would give to the Ministers that could be injurious to us? Could it give them greater power of taxing us? After all, *that* is the principal point. Could it, I say, place our *purses* more completely at their command? If it could, then, indeed, I should say, that there was danger to us in the proposed measure; but, as long as I do not perceive, and cannot perceive, that that would be the case, I shall feel no alarm at the army and revenue of India being taken out of the hands of the Company.

But, what idle talk is this, about the danger to be apprehended from this new source of ministerial influence? What influence can a minister want more than that which he now possesses? He has now the distribution of nearly one hundred millions sterling, annually; he has an army of two hundred thousand men, including foreign troops; he has a thousand ships of war; and the tax-gatherers receive as their pay for collecting the taxes several millions sterling every year. There is not a parish where he has not several persons in his pay as tax-gatherers, under one denomination or another; and, besides, is not the East India Company itself a body as much under his influence, and as powerful an instrument in his hands, as India itself could become in consequence of the proposed transfer? Can the Editor of the Morning Chronicle cite me an instance, when the East India Company, or when any individual East India Director, has appeared in opposition to the ministry of

the day? I can recollect no such instance. On the contrary, I have always observed, that, let who would be minister, he was sure of the support of that body. Therefore, I am not to be made to believe, that the political liberties of the country can possibly be endangered by the minister's possessing, with some degree of responsibility attached to it, all that influence, which he before possessed without even the show of responsibility.

We now come to a consideration of the arguments, if such they may be called, in support of that opposition which the city of London, in its corporate capacity, is making to the intended measure of the opening the trade to India. And here, it is to be observed, that this opposition stands upon a different ground from that on which the opposition of the Company rests. The latter dreads the loss of its monopoly; the former the loss of the advantages, as they are thought, from the importation of India goods being confined, as it now is, to the port of London. The latter would care but little about the extension of the importation to the out-ports; and the former would not care a pin for the opening of the trade to individual merchants, provided all the goods were still to be brought in to the port of London, and, provided all the establishments arising out of the commerce of India, were still to remain in London.

Mr. Alderman BIRCH, in the debate before referred to, is reported to have said, that "millions had been expended by the Company on warehouses and other important concerns, and *the seat of their Government was in the city of London*. To borrow a figure from the East, the Company are to the City like the great Banyan tree, whose branches descended and took fresh roots, and which flourished again till it formed of itself a species of forest, full of bloom, and verdure, and fruit, under *which thousands took shelter and sustenance*. Now it was proposed to lay the axe almost to the root, or to plant new shoots that would wither as soon as they came up from the earth. (*Hear.*) *Extend the trade, and they would weaken it*. In practice, it was prosperity: in theory, it would be ruin. Experience was against experiment. Look at *our proud River*, with its immense forests of masts floating on its bosom, its innumerable vessels fraught with the merchandise of the globe: go down to the extent of the City's juris-

"dictio  
"of ch  
"to sh  
"much  
"man  
"from  
"hear  
"strip  
"dign  
"step,  
"clear  
"Wes  
"all  
"Lon  
"imp  
"them  
"The  
"only  
"whic  
"merc  
"its i  
Mr.  
for ch  
Magna  
instanc  
one of  
which  
never  
the cou  
of a va  
was ne  
who is  
rights  
astonis  
Mr. B  
too, sh  
enough  
as a vi  
have b  
help  
words  
is this  
betwe  
the ter  
an act  
of the  
that l  
certain  
the In  
ty of  
have  
fulfill  
only a  
to pa  
of the  
if it  
the te  
to ex  
end;  
fuses



"diction, and hear the *gladdening echoes*  
 "of cheerful labour resounding from shore  
 "to shore; and then ask the question, how  
 "much of this prosperity is owing,—how  
 "many of these *labourers earn their bread*  
 "from the East India Company?—(*Hear,*  
 "*hear.*) Was that proud River to be  
 "stripped of the ancient ensigns of her  
 "dignity? Were they ready, step by  
 "step, to make it flow at *Wapping*, as  
 "clearly, and unencumbered, as it did at  
 "Westminster? Let them stop *in limine*  
 "all attempts against the prosperity of  
 "London.—(*Hear.*) Charters were most  
 "important; and *every attempt to disturb*  
 "*them should be viewed with jealousy.*  
 "The renewals of the East India Charter  
 "only strengthened the arguments on  
 "which they stood. All the Indian com-  
 "merce centered in London, and it was  
 "its interest and duty to keep it there."

Mr. Birch seems to be a stout stickler for charters; but, what does he say to *Magna Charta*? I think I could point out instances, wherein that gentleman has been one of the loudest advocates of measures by which *that* charter was violated. I have never known any resolution proposed in the court of common council complaining of a violation of the *people's* rights, which was not opposed by Mr. Alderman Birch, who is now so zealous an advocate for the rights of the East India Company. It is astonishing to me that a man of sense, as Mr. Birch is, and a man of good manners too, should be able to muster up resolution enough to *speak* of the proposed measure as a violation of a charter; and, though I have before dwelt upon the point, I cannot help again observing on the perversion of words resorted to upon this occasion. What is this charter? It is a bargain, made between the nation and the company, and the terms of the bargain are to be found in an act of parliament passed in the 33d year of the present King's reign. According to that bargain, the Company were, upon certain conditions, to have a monopoly of the India Trade, and to have the sovereignty of the colony, for *twenty years*. As I have shewn before, the Company has not fulfilled its part of the bargain, it has paid only a twentieth part of what it was bound to pay as the price of the monopoly, and of the advantages of the sovereignty. But, if it had punctually fulfilled its covenants, the term of the bargain is expired, or about to expire. The twenty years are at an end; and, shall the nation, because it refuses to renew the bargain, because it re-

fuses to grant the monopoly, and to yield the sovereignty of its colony again; shall it for this cause, be accused of violating a *charter*? I am surprised that a man of sense should thus resort to a sounding word, for the sake of supplying the place of fact and argument.

But, we are told by Mr. Birch, in fine figurative language, that the Company is to the city like the great Banyan tree. Mr. Birch was not aware, perhaps, that figures of rhetoric should be cautiously used. The Banyan tree may, for aught I know, be possessed of the qualities that he describes. Its branches, like those of the laurel, and thousands of other shrubs and trees, may descend to the earth, take fresh root, and send up fresh trunks towards the skies. But, with the leave of Mr. Alderman Birch, he is labouring to prevent this species of propagation; for, he is endeavouring to confine the tree of which he is speaking to the port of London; whereas the ministers are for extending its branches to the out-ports, and, of course, for enlarging its capacity for affording shelter and sustenance. After his figure of the Banyan tree, the gentleman was extremely unfortunate in asserting, that the trade would be *weakened* by its *extension*!

After all, however, after all the talk about the Banyan tree, and the proud river Thames, and the gladdening echoes of cheerful labour; after all this talk, the opposition is, in plain English, founded upon this, that the measure proposed by the ministers will take part of the trade from the port of London and distribute it amongst the out-ports; that it will lessen the quantity of money expended in London; that it will diminish its population; and that, of course, it will draw something away from the gains of the owners of land and houses in London, and, generally, from persons keeping shops, public houses, and otherwise engaged in trade.

That all this is true, I allow; but, so far am I from regarding this as an evil, I have no hesitation in saying, that I look upon it as an unqualified good. I should have no wish to lessen the value of real property and of trade in the city of London, were it not from the consideration, that whatever is in this way taken from that city, must go to other parts of the kingdom. But, with respect to a lessening of the population of London, *that* is a positive good. There is no man, I am persuaded, who has reflected upon the matter, who does not lament the enormous



increase of that metropolis, which has already drawn to itself so large a part of the means of the whole kingdom. The "glad-denying echoes of cheerful labour," if such there be in the filthy stews of Wapping, are not more gladdening than they would be at Liverpool, at Glasgow, or at Dublin. Poets have written more beautifully than Mr. Birch can speak about the river Thames; but, in the eye of a statesman, such descriptions are of no consequence. In his eye, the Thames has no more pretensions to pride than any other river or stream in the kingdom, while he must be well convinced, that to make all the trade of the country centre in one port, is to prevent emulation, and, in fact, to contract the sphere of national exertion.

Mr. Birch speaks of the persons who earn their bread from the East India Company, as if they would be thrown out of employ and starved, if the monopoly were put an end to, and especially if the trade were divided amongst the out-ports. But, is it possible that Mr. Birch does not perceive, that the trade would still be carried on by other persons than the Company, and that it would still give employment to as many persons as it now employs? If not employed in London, these persons would be employed elsewhere; and if Mr. Birch will point me out a spot in the whole globe, where they could be employed with less chances of health and more chances of vice, than on the banks of the Thames, below London Bridge, I will at once, waving all other considerations, give up the argument.

There is, it seems, a body of persons, called the *shipping interest* in the port of London, who join in this opposition. And, I should be glad to know from these gentlemen, upon what it is, that they found their claim to a monopoly of the advantages of the trade to and from India. Do not the whole kingdom pay the taxes which are expended in the maintenance of the colonies in the East. Why should the counties of Lancaster, Somerset, or any other, be shut out any more than the county of Middlesex? In short, the grounds of this opposition appear to me to be so flagrantly unjust, that I will not believe any thing further to be necessary to expose them to public indignation.

Before I conclude, however, there is one reason, and that of great weight, which I shall state for my approbation of the proposed measure, or of any measure, the tendency of which is, to diminish the

influence of the East India Company, and, indeed to break up that body. And this reason is, that such a measure will have a powerful tendency to destroy political corruption in the city of London and in the county of Middlesex. That Company has long been a powerful phalanx in opposition to the voice of public liberty. At all elections, whether for the city or the county, that Company, with its numerous dependents at its heels, have had a monstrous influence, and that influence has always been exerted to the utmost against the rights of the people. If we look back to the causes of this war, we shall find the East India Company acting a prominent part. The East India House and the Bank have been amongst the forwardest in support of all those measures which led to the enormous taxes now weighing us to the earth; and, who can have failed to be filled with disgust at seeing it stated, in the documents and speeches of the opponents of the present measure, that its adoption would tend to introduce light and liberty into the enslaved countries under their sway?

I am not certain, nor do I flatter myself, that it is intended to change the interior system of government of India; but, of this I am very sure, that it cannot be intended to establish there any system of government more hateful to me than that which now exists there under the Company. What do they mean when they express their alarm, *lest an additional number of Europeans should find their way to India*? What sort of government must that be, which feels uneasiness at the prospect of seeing its acts subjected to the observation of well-informed men? What sort of government must that be, which dreads the approach of men accustomed to ideas of law and liberty? And, I put it as a question to all those who have any pretensions to thinking, whether they think, that the treasure and the blood of Englishmen ought to be expended in maintaining the possession of a colony, the mode of governing which will not bear the inspection of free men, and trembles at the thought of a free communication with the natives of England? Whether this government will be put an end to, I know not; but that it may be, is the sincere wish of

WM. COBBETT.

Bolton, 3d February, 1813.

#### SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

MAJOR CARTWRIGHT.—The following paragraph, which I take from the Morning



Chronicle news-paper of the 2nd instant, is worthy of being preserved, and of being read all over Europe and in the United States of America. I therefore insert it, and shall do little more, as it speaks so plainly for itself.—“ This veteran Reformer arrived at Huddersfield on Thursday evening, the 21st ult. in the course of his tour, for the purpose of procuring signatures to a Petition for Parliamentary Reform. He was visited at the George Inn by six or seven persons friendly to that cause. As they were on the point of departure, a MILITARY OFFICER, attended with constables, made his appearance, who stated, that it being rumoured the parties were holding a public meeting for political debate, he came with a desire to join in the discussion. He was immediately informed that the object of the company was merely to see ‘ the good old Gentleman.’ In consequence of the rules of the POLICE the Major’s visitors were obliged to leave him. He was then given to understand, that certain sheets of large paper, rolled up and tied with red tape, had been pointed out as papers which ought to be examined. These papers, which, after repeated requests, the Major consented to have read, were the form of a petition to the House of Commons. After several observations on the composition, not at all calculated to gratify the Major’s feelings, one of these forms was requested from him, or permission to take a copy on the spot, certain intimations being at the same time given of the consequences which would ensue upon a refusal. Under these appearances of constraint he steadily refused to acquiesce, until at a very late hour one of the party served on the Major the warrant of a Magistrate for taking him before him. The Major, after a copy was taken of the Petition, was allowed to retire to his bed, about half past three o’clock in the morning. He was called on the next day about eleven o’clock in the forenoon, to attend the Magistrate, who resided at a distance of two miles. The Major then vindicated himself from the imputation which had been attempted to be cast on him, of keeping low company, by remarking that there were occasions when it was not unfit for gentlemen to show sympathy for, and attention to, the opinions of persons in the least opulent stations in life, and instanced elections as a case in point. It

afforded the Major a high degree of satisfaction on this occasion, to hear it expressly declared by the professional gentlemen who took the examinations, that Government had no desire to prevent the people from petitioning the Legislature for a Parliamentary Reform. He was then allowed to proceed on his journey; and after his departure the persons found in his company were summoned before the same Magistrate, and convicted on a charge of tippling, i. e. taking a glass of wine with the Apostle of Parliamentary Reform after nine o’clock at night.”—No commentary is wanted. The thing is quite complete. It forms a pretty little subject for cogitation; but, of a vast deal more importance to us than the campaign in Russia.

CATHOLIC QUESTION.—The ministers must be most unreasonable men, if they can desire any thing better than what is now going on throughout the country upon this subject. Meetings and Debatings about the Pope and the Devil are, if possible, better than the bonfires for Russian successes. How those who figure at these meetings must laugh in their sleeves at the gaping gulls who make up the mass of the assembly! The leaders on both sides are, doubtless, actuated by the same motive at bottom; namely, to amuse the people, the “most thinking people” in the world! If the speech-makers and the writers on both sides were hired for the express purpose, they could not act their part better. I cannot, for my part, imagine any thing better calculated to serve the purposes of those, who are against all reform of abuses, than this dispute about the Pope and the Devil. One side cries out, that the Church is in danger, and the other, that they are persecuted for righteousness sake. One side seems to dread the faggots in Smithfield, and the other to be in bodily fear of Satan himself. That such a question does at all occupy the minds of even the most ignorant part of the people, at this day, it is melancholy to think on; but, that there should be men of talents so lost to all sense of shame as to come forward publicly and carry on debates upon it, is truly shocking.—The war carried on upon the subject in the news-papers is still worse, if possible. The names of intolerants and innovators, which they deal out upon each other, are, to be sure, in jest. They never can be in earnest.—The Morning Chronicle of the 2nd instant has the fol-



lowing article upon the subject. "Is it  
 "not marvellous to see, in the year 1813,  
 "all the fanaticism of 1780 revived? or  
 "rather to see the cry of Demagogue taken  
 "up by the Government, and at the very  
 "moment when every nerve of the  
 "State ought to be strained in one great  
 "seasonable effort for the deliverance of  
 "Europe from political confusion, to see  
 "the people of Great Britain and Ireland  
 "roused into the most furious state of in-  
 "testine warfare?—The streets are not  
 "merely placarded at an expense which  
 "no individual could sustain, but flags  
 "are hung out at public houses, and the  
 "ignorant are invited in to *swill liquor*  
 "*gratis*, to induce them to sign petitions  
 "which they do not even read. We  
 "trust that INDEPENDENT Members  
 "of Parliament on their arrival in town,  
 "will make it their business to inquire  
 "into this fact, and observe the base and  
 "dangerous practices now carrying on  
 "for the purpose of procuring Petitions  
 "from the lowest of the rabble. They  
 "will then be able justly to appreciate  
 "these proofs of the benignity, toleration,  
 "and policy of the Ministers of both our  
 "Church and State."—The thing is by  
 "no means marvellous, Mr. PERRY. It is  
 "just what one would expect; and the prac-  
 "tices are not a bit more base and degene-  
 "rate than is the practice of *giving import-*  
 "*ance* to the subject, and of thus drawing off  
 "the attention of the people from their real  
 "grievances and the real means of obtaining  
 "redress. "The people are *roused* to the  
 "*most furious state of intestine warfare*;"  
 "are they? And who rouses them? Who  
 "but those, who, after discussions of years,  
 "still urge on the vain dispute, when it is  
 "obvious to all the world, that the party  
 "complaining are just as inimical to public  
 "liberty as their opponents. I wish for all  
 "the disabilities of the Catholics to be re-  
 "moved; but, if they will not join the peo-  
 "ple in general, and seek a reform of Par-  
 "liament as the means of procuring redress,  
 "I care nothing for their cause. I have  
 "watched their movements very narrowly,  
 "and I perceive no inclination on their part  
 "to make exertions in the cause of reform.  
 "They move solely as *Catholics*, and as such  
 "I care no more for them than I do for the  
 "Methodists. Nay, I have observed that  
 "the Catholics have, upon several recent  
 "occasions, by their toasts and speeches,  
 "taken special care to disclaim all views of  
 "meddling with *political* questions; and,  
 "as I am sure that I care nothing about the

Pope, I feel very little interest in what  
 may become of their petitions.—The  
 Morning Chronicle wants to unite us all  
 for the *deliverance of Europe*, in which  
 we have about as much interest as in  
 the deliverance of the Pope. The de-  
 liverance of *ourselves* is what we should  
 be united in; a deliverance, however,  
 which the party of Whigs is just as much  
 opposed to as any other party. A deli-  
 verance from the present weight of taxes  
 is what we want more than any other sort  
 of deliverance; but of this sort of deliver-  
 ance the Chronicle and the Catholics never  
 speak.—In short, the agitation of this  
 Catholic Question serves, and can serve  
 only to *amuse the people*, and to keep them  
*divided*. If I were to choose a people to hold  
 in a state of complete subjection, it should  
 be a people divided into several religious  
 sects, each condemning the other to perdi-  
 tion. With such a people, furnished with  
 a suitable set of priests, a government  
 endued with barely common sense, might  
 do just what it pleased. The Catholic  
 leaders must know, and they do know,  
 that, while the Parliament remains unre-  
 formed, they will never be admitted to a  
 share of political power; and, their silence  
 upon the subject of reform is, therefore,  
 sufficient to make me doubt of the sincerity  
 of their views. I say now, as I always  
 did, that, what they ask for, is, *of itself*,  
 nothing to the people; and, if they do not  
 ask for more, their cause ought to be in-  
 different to the people.

WM. COBBETT.

Bolley, 4 Feb. 1813.

#### INDIA COMPANY.

(Continued from page 147.)

limited, there can be no objection to pro-  
 pose to Parliament, to specify that number  
 by legislative enactment.—I have thus  
 endeavoured to bring the sentiments of His  
 Majesty's Government before you, with the  
 same candour that has been evinced in our  
 recent discussions; and I can venture con-  
 fidently to assure you, that my colleagues,  
 as well as myself, are most anxious to pro-  
 mote such an adjustment between the Public  
 and the Court of Proprietors, as may be  
 satisfactory to all parties.—The expedi-  
 ency of adhering to that system, by which  
 the Government of India has been adminis-  
 tered through the intervention of the Com-  
 pany, is strongly felt by His Majesty's Go-  
 vernment; but it must not be supposed,



that there are no limits to that expediency, or that there are no advantages which might result from a different course.—It is for the Court of Proprietors to decide, whether their own interests, as well as those of the numerous persons depending upon them, both at home and abroad, can best be preserved by their rejection of, or acquiescence in, those conditions, upon which alone, consistent with their public duty, His Majesty's Government can submit a proposition to Parliament for the renewal of the Charter.—You, Gentlemen, must be aware, that from its approaching expiration, provision must be made, without delay, for the future Government of India; and that His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, in his speech at the opening of the present session, has called upon Parliament to make such provision.—I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, your most obedient and faithful humble servant,

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

No. LXXIII.

At a Secret Committee of Correspondence, the 30th December, 1812.—Draft of a letter to the President of the Board of Commissioners, in reply to his Lordship's letter of the 24th instant, was read and unanimously approved.

No. LXXII.

At a Secret Court of Directors, held on Wednesday, the 30th December, 1812.—Draft of a letter to the President of the Board of Commissioners, in reply to his Lordship's letter of the 24th instant, was read and unanimously approved.

No. LXIII.

*Letter from the Chairman and Deputy Chairman to the Right Honourable the Earl of Buckinghamshire, noticed in the preceding Minutes.*

*East India House, 30th Dec. 1812.*

My Lord,—We were honoured, on the 25th instant, with the letter which your Lordship was pleased to address to us on the preceding day, and have laid it before the Court of Directors. We are instructed by the Court to acquaint your Lordship, that a General Court of Proprietors of East India Stock has been summoned, for the special purpose of taking into consideration the important subjects treated of in your Lordship's letter, and we shall lose no time in submitting to your Lordship the result of the deliberations at that meeting.—In reference to the first paragraph of your Lordship's letter, in which the resolution passed by the Court, on the 18th instant,

is stated to have caused some surprise to His Majesty's Government, as appearing to have for its object an abrupt termination to all discussion, we are desired by the Court of Directors respectfully to offer the following explanation.—Your Lordship is aware, that at the commencement of the recent conferences on the subject of the Renewal of the Company's Charter, it was agreed between your Lordship and the Deputation from the Court, that no minutes should be taken of what passed in conversation. Accordingly, no particular communication was made, prior to the receipt of your Lordship's letter of the 24th inst. of the result of these conferences: but an earnest desire having been expressed by those Gentlemen in the Direction who are not Members of the Committee of Correspondence, to be informed, whether the differences of opinion, formerly known to exist, on some important points, between His Majesty's Government and the Court, were in a train of reconciliation, and the general answer which we thought ourselves bound in duty to give, not having tended to afford them the satisfaction they expected, they deemed it proper that the sense of the Court, respecting the question of the out-ports, should be formally notified to your Lordship, and in consequence the unanimous resolution of the 18th was transmitted. Had the Court perceived that that proceeding admitted of the interpretation which has been put upon it by His Majesty's Government, they would assuredly have taken pains more effectually to guard against so great a misconception of the real intention, which was no other than to mark their adherence to the opinions they have uniformly entertained on the disputed question, of extending the import trade from India to the out-ports of this kingdom, which had formed the principal subject of discussion between the Members of His Majesty's Government and the Committee of Correspondence. It was certainly desirable for the Members of that deputed Committee, and it was thought that it might not be unacceptable to your Lordship, to know that the sentiments which they had expressed in the course of discussion, were sanctioned by the unanimous concurrence of the Body by whom they were delegated. The mode in which the resolution was adopted was conformable to the usage of the Court of Directors on solemn occasions, namely, after a Report from a Committee of the whole Court, which always requires signatures, and which, in the present instance, was



subscribed by every Director.—We trust, my Lord, that this explanation of the measure alluded to, will prove satisfactory to your Lordship and the other Members of His Majesty's Government; and while we return our sincere acknowledgments for the attention with which our representations have been listened to, in the various interviews with which we have been honoured by your Lordship and His Majesty's Ministers who attended, we hope, at the same time, to stand perfectly acquitted of any design, either to prevent or embarrass a full and deliberate discussion of the great interests at stake.—It is matter of deep concern to us to find, that His Majesty's Ministers seem still to adhere to the principle of opening the out-ports of the United Kingdom to the importation of commodities from India. We have already, in our letters of the 15th and 29th April last, fully stated the dangers that must result to the Company, from so great an enlargement of the privilege in Eastern commerce to British merchants. We presume to think our objections to that enlargement have not been adequately answered; and we have to express the concern felt by the Court, that no communication has yet been made to them, of those representations which first led His Majesty's Ministers to entertain, and which induce them still to adhere to the opinion, that the public interest will be best consulted, by not confining the import trade from the East Indies to the port of London. It would occasion much satisfaction to the Court, should such a communication have the effect of obviating their objections, even in part, to a measure, which the most imperative considerations alone could have influenced them to oppose: and were it unfortunately to fail in producing this effect, it is nevertheless desirable, that the Court of Directors shall have an opportunity of reviewing the question with all the intelligence that can be brought to bear upon it. Your Lordship has, indeed, been pleased to favour us with a brief summary of some of the arguments used by the merchants on this subject—arguments, we must own, not in the least convincing to us: and we assure ourselves, that in adverting to them, your Lordship does not mean that the Company should be concluded, or their fate determined, by what those who oppose their interests choose to advance; although their representations appear to have so far influenced His Majesty's Ministers, as to lead them to think, that the merchants "have a claim to as much liberty of trade as

"they can enjoy, without injury to other important national interests." In those interests, we may presume, are comprehended both the consideration of the public revenue, and the maintenance of the East India Company. But what that extent of trade is, "which can be granted with safety to those interests," is still a question undetermined. We confess that the regulations contemplated by His Majesty's Ministers, so far as your Lordship has been pleased to explain them to us, appear by no means calculated to remove our fears. The comparative interest which the Public and the Company have in preventing the smuggling of tea, was described in our letter of the 29th April; and though it be true, as your Lordship observes, that the stake of the Public in this concern is numerically greater than that of the Company, yet the importance of the Company's inferior stake is, to them, infinitely greater, than would be to the Public the importance of the loss the revenue might sustain; because, as matters now stand, the Company have no certain dependence but the China trade, for resources essential to their subsistence. We do not the least question, that His Majesty's Ministers would be thoroughly disposed to frame additional regulations to prevent smuggling tea, should those now in contemplation be tried and be found insufficient. But, besides that we extremely distrust the practicability of preventing smuggling to a large extent, where the temptations would be so great, we must entreat your Lordship and His Majesty's Ministers seriously to consider, what would be the situation of the Company, if they obtained a charter upon no better terms than those now proposed, and upon trial it should be found that their commercial income failed, and that their dividend should be unprovided for or lowered:—their stock would immediately fall; their credit would be diminished; the currency of their affairs, in their payments particularly, would be impeded; general alarm and dissatisfaction in all parties connected with this great establishment would be felt; and there would be a necessity for going to Parliament again, when evils great, perhaps irretrievable, would have been experienced. It is the duty of the Executive Body of the Company to carry their views forward to such contingencies, and to seek provision against them; and we must beg leave to add, that whatever rights the merchants may claim, or the nation be pleased to bestow on them, it cannot be equitable to

make  
stroy  
dian  
owne  
in th  
in Lo  
of E  
under  
obser  
numb  
port  
they  
appe  
have  
addit  
admi  
think  
woul  
tion  
therel  
search  
reme  
natur  
out o  
endea  
But,  
points  
and,  
rived  
state  
the C  
whole  
ment  
comm  
East  
such  
pany  
tratio  
cated  
for p  
of th  
which  
main  
Comp  
thoug  
powe  
the C  
pics  
ters  
the 3  
Marc  
meas  
in re  
Gove  
And  
will  
Direc  
in an  
inform  
chant



make concessions to them which should destroy the Company who acquired the Indian empire, and who are as much the owners of the chief seats of European trade in that empire, as they are of their freeholds in London.—With respect to the resort of Europeans to India, if we do not misunderstand the scope of your Lordship's observation, it seems to imply, that their numbers might be in proportion to the export trade from this country. If, indeed, they were to be regulated by this scale, our apprehensions would be the less; but we have no difficulty in acknowledging, that in addition to all our other arguments against admitting importations to the out-ports, we think that the granting of this privilege would increase the spirit of rash speculation from Great Britain and Ireland, and thereby the number of adventurers in search of fortune in India; for it is to be remembered, that those adventurers would naturally seek for new establishments, even out of the Company's territories, and there endeavour to acquire real property.—But, my Lord, this is only one of many points which require particular regulations; and, at the stage at which we are now arrived in the negotiation, we cannot but state to your Lordship the anxious wish of the Court to be made acquainted with the whole plan which His Majesty's Government may have it in contemplation to recommend to Parliament for a renewal of the East India Company's Charter; including such amendments in the system of the Company's territorial government and administration, as past experience may have indicated; the regulations deemed necessary for promoting the discipline and efficiency of the Indian army; the amount of force which His Majesty may be empowered to maintain in India at the expense of the Company; and the provisions that may be thought requisite for settling the relative powers of the Board of Commissioners and the Court of Directors. Though these topics were specifically mentioned in the letters from Lord Melville to the Chairs, of the 30th September, 1808, and the 21st March, 1812, the Court are still, in great measure, uninformed of the arrangements, in regard to them, which His Majesty's Government may have in view to propose. And we entreat also, that your Lordship will enable us to lay before the Court of Directors, and ultimately the Proprietors, in any shape that you may judge fit, the information, additional to that of the merchants already solicited, on which the de-

termination of His Majesty's Ministers rests, as to the extension of the trade to the out-ports, and their intentions upon the other parts of the arrangement to which we have now adverted.—The requests we now make appear to us the more reasonable, from the weighty intimation conveyed in the concluding part of your Lordship's letter. It brings into view (to repeat an expression used in our letter of the 15th April), "*questions of the last importance to the safety of the British Empire in India, and of the British Constitution at home.*" This is a solemn subject for the country, as well as the Company. If, indeed, it should ever come under actual discussion, we have that confidence in the equity and wisdom of the nation, that notwithstanding all present clamours, they will wish to do the Company justice, and to guard all the other great interests which must come into question. But prepared as we shall be, if forced into this situation, to maintain the rights and claims of our constituents, we must yet express our hope, that the Company will not be reduced to the hard alternative, of thus having to contend for all that is dear to them, or to accept a Charter, on terms which will not enable them to execute the part hitherto assigned to them in the Indian system.—We have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient humble servants,  
(Signed) HUGH INGLIS,  
ROBERT THORNTON.

The Chairman then informed the Court, that the only other document to be read was the Letter of the President of the Board of Control, received late last night.—The letter was then read.—

*India Board, Jan. 4, 1813.*

GENTLEMEN,—I had the honour to receive your letter of the 30th ultimo, and proceed to convey to you the sentiments of His Majesty's Government, as far as it would seem advisable, under present circumstances, to continue the discussion.—With respect to your observation, that the representations which induced His Majesty's Government to form their opinions upon the subject of the extension of the Import Trade have been withheld from the Court of Directors, and that your objections to that extension have not been "*adequately answered*;" you must allow me to avail myself of this occasion to apprize you, that although His Majesty's Government has shewn a strong disposition to enter into the most frank and unreserved explanations with



the Court of Directors, they have not felt that it was within the range of their duty to engage in a controversy upon the points at issue: That duty has been sufficiently discharged, in stating, for the information of the Court of Proprietors, the condition upon which they were prepared to submit a proposition to Parliament for the renewal of the Charter, accompanied by such reasons as are conveyed in the communications they have authorized me to make.—I can, however, have no difficulty in acquainting you, that the claims of the Merchants connected with the out-ports have not been brought before Government by written documents, that they have been urged and discussed at personal conferences with individuals interested in their success, and that you have already been informed of the grounds upon which they were supported; but that it does not appear to His Majesty's Government, that you can be warranted in expecting that they should give a more particular account of the arguments adduced at these conferences.—I may add, however, that as the Merchants and Manufacturers connected with the out-ports, considering themselves entitled, at the expiration of the Charter of the East India Company, to carry on that trade from which they had been excluded for a limited time, had entered into a statement of their case by Petitions presented to Parliament in the course of the last session, you may obtain from those records that further information which you appear desirous to possess.—With regard to those points to which you have alluded, as requiring particular regulation, the Ministers of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent having signified to you, that, consistently with their sense of public duty, they can submit no arrangement to Parliament that does not include an extension of the Import Trade, and the Court of Directors having, with the knowledge of their opinions upon that point, by their Resolution of the 18th ult. declined to recommend to the Court of Proprietors to agree to such an extension, it would seem premature to enter into details until that question shall have been finally determined.—You are apprized of the disposition of His Majesty's Government to adhere to the present system of Administration in India, and I am not aware, that if circumstances should admit of its continuance, it would be necessary to propose any material alteration in the existing provisions for carrying it into execution, except such as may arise from the opening of the

trade.—The confidence you express in the wisdom and justice of Parliament, will, I am persuaded, not be disappointed; nor is it to be supposed, that in the consideration of this great question (to use your own words), "the safety of the British Empire in India, and the British Constitution at home," will be overlooked either by the Legislature or the Ministers of the Crown.—If the Government of India cannot be carried on with safety to the Constitution, except through the intervention of the Company, the propositions of the Court of Directors, whatever they may be, must unconditionally be admitted.—It will be for Parliament to determine whether the nation is in this respect without an alternative, or whether, if a change of system should be rendered necessary by the decisions of the East India Company, measures might not be taken for opening the trade, and at the same time providing such an Administration of the Government of India, as might be found compatible with the interests and security of the British Constitution.—I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, your obedient and faithful humble servant,

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

#### OFFICIAL PAPERS.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Sunday, January 17.

(Continued from page 160.)

thrown, and he entered Wilna as it were on their very shoulders. In this attack he took six pieces of cannon and one eagle. Having afterwards joined the detachment under Major-General Landskoy, an attempt was made to carry the town itself; but finding themselves too weak for the enemy's infantry, dispersed throughout the houses, they were under the necessity of waiting the arrival of the advanced guard of Tchitschagoff's army.—Admiral Tchitchagoff reports, on the 10th of December, that Major-General Tschablitz, regardless of all obstacles, and profiting of the disorderly flight of the enemy, had pursued them into Wilna, taking 31 pieces of cannon; and that the suburbs had been occupied, and picquets posted round the body of the town, under the orders of Major-Generals Orourka and Laskine.

Head-quarters, Oschnisani, 11th Dec.

—Major-General Ignatseff detached, on the 6th of December, eight battalions from



Bobruisk to Minsk.—Admiral Tchitschagoff reports that Major-General Tschablitz dislodged the enemy from Wilna, on the 10th Dec. where they left a great number of cannon, and very considerable magazines, but time did not permit to furnish the details.

*Head-quarters, Wilna, Dec. 12.*—Count Wittgenstein reports, under date of the 10th of December, that having sent out several detachments of cavalry in pursuit, one of these, commanded by Aid-de-Camp General Kutousoff, had taken a corps of Bavarians prisoners, consisting of one hundred and twenty-six officers, and two thousand and twenty-four men, part of which consisted of an entire battalion, which having been surrounded by the able manœuvres of Lieutenant-Colonel Tettenbach, had laid down their arms without firing a shot. The requisitions of every description, which the enemy had levied upon the inhabitants, were recovered, and with these all the means of subsistence for their troops. On the 9th, Lieutenant-Colonel Tettenbach entered the suburbs of Wilna, notwithstanding the enemy were in possession of the body of the place. Major-General Borosdin, who commanded the other detachment, made many prisoners at Nementchina, took also a considerable number of baggage-waggons.

*December 11.*—General Count Platoff reports, that in passing near Wilna, he had driven the enemy back five wersts, as they were defiling in column by Pogoixlanke; and having allowed the first column to pass (with which Count Orloff Denisoff had already been engaged), he had directed Major-General Nachmanoff and Count Orloff to attack the enemy with spirit from our right flank; and Prince Kasatkin Rostoffsky, with some regiments of hussars and dragoons, from our left. The column of the enemy was divided into two, and entirely destroyed. General Lanzan was made prisoner; thirty other officers, and upwards of one thousand men, and we took two pair of colours and two standards. The remainder of the enemy was pursued, by the horse artillery, to the mountains of Ponary, near which another column was nearly destroyed by the sabre and bayonet; twenty-eight pieces of cannon, as many tumbrils, with their train complete, fell into our hands near this spot.

*Head-quarters of Field Marshal Kutousoff, at Wilna.*—On the evening of the 5th of December, the partisan Sesslavin penetrated into the town of Oschnisani,

where the enemy, consisting of nine battalions of infantry, and above one thousand horse, were preparing quarters for that night. The infantry had already piled their arms, when the hussars of Achtersky fell upon them, sword in hand, from all quarters. The whole of the Commandant's guard was cut to pieces, and he himself owed his safety to the darkness of the night. The magazines were at the same moment set on fire by shells; the enemy, dismayed and in confusion, fled to the outside of the town, where his infantry was drawn up in order of battle: but being pursued by our cavalry, they retired with the greatest precipitation to Taharschki. The inhabitants of this town unanimously declare that Napoleon was there in person; but that having been informed of his danger by some of those who were devoted to him, he had changed his dress, and fled at full gallop towards Wilna.—The enemy has lost in prisoners within the space of five days, viz. from the 8th to the 13th of December, as follows, one General, 156 Officers, 9,574 soldiers, independent of wounded and sick, of whom great numbers were found in the villages near the high road; 168 pieces of cannon, two pair of colours, two standards, and an eagle, have likewise fallen into our hands.

*Report of the Commander-in-Chief of the Armies, General Field Marshal Prince Kutousoff Smolensko, to His Imperial Majesty, Dec. 14, 1812.*

At the time of the capture of Wilna by our troops on the 10th of December, the enemy defiled through the streets, whilst Count Platoff, in order to cut off his retreat by the road to Kowno, occupied it with all his Cossack regiments, as well as with those of the Hussars of Olviopole, and the Dragoons of Shitomir and Arsamas. Having let pass the first of the enemy's columns, Count Platoff ordered Count Orloff Denisoff to attack it with spirit, at the same time he himself attacked, with impetuosity, the other columns; the artillery under Colonel Prince Koudascheff kept up an incessant fire. Count Platoff afterwards ordered Count Orloff Denisoff to pass in the rear of the enemy, to post detachments on his flanks, and to prevent his arriving at the mountains of Ponary. The large columns were completely routed by the well directed fire of our artillery, and afterwards entirely destroyed. One General, 30 Officers, and more than 1,000 soldiers were made prisoners; 28 pieces



of cannon were taken, and a number of waggons and carriages. The loss on our side was very inconsiderable. Colonel Flowaisky, and Lieutenant-Colonel Bibikoff, were dangerously wounded. — After the capture of Wilna, I employed every possible means to re-establish order, and to inform myself of every thing: but the shortness of the time does not permit me to present to your Imperial Majesty with this report, a detailed inventory of all we have found here, especially as the quantity of provisions of every sort, as well as the number of prisoners is so great, that it will take a considerable time to make an exact account. — During my stay here, the Chief of the Staff, General Stawrakoff, and Major-General Besrodni, have collected from the different magazines of the town, 14,000 tschetwert of barley, five thousand tschetwert of biscuit and flour, an immense number of uniforms, muskets, pouches, saddles, great coats, and other articles of equipment. — We have made prisoners seven Generals, viz. Vivier, Gousse, Normand, Gouliot, Le Fevre, Fwanofsky, and Sajontschik, 18 Staff Officers, 224 superior Officers, 9,517 soldiers, and 5,139 sick, were found in the hospitals. — A great number of prisoners continue to be made in the neighbourhood; and several magazines have been taken, which we have not had time to certify. As soon as the reports shall be drawn up, I shall have the happiness to submit them to your Imperial Majesty.

LONDON GAZETTE, Jan. 23.

*Foreign Office, Jan. 20, 1813.*—A Dispatch, of which the following is a copy, has been received by Viscount Castlereagh, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, from his Excellency General Viscount Cathcart, K. T. his Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Court of Russia, dated *St. Petersburg, Jan. 2, 1813.*

My Lord—I have the honour herewith to transmit to your Lordship copies of two proclamations together with a nominal list of the General Officers who have been taken prisoners by the Russian armies, which I have just received from Wilna, but which have not yet been published here. — No further official intelligence of military operations has been received here since my last. — Private letters of the 30th, from Liebau, mention, that the French troops stationed at that place marched, on

the 22d of December, for Memel; from which it appears impossible that they should not have been cut off, if they attempted Tilsit, which was occupied on the 11th by Count Wittgenstein, who was nearer to Konigsberg. I have the honour to be, &c.  
(Signed) CATHCART.

#### DECLARATION.

At the moment of my ordering the armies under my command to pass the Prussian frontier, the Emperor, my master, directs me to declare, that this step is to be considered in no other light than as the inevitable consequence of the military operations. — Faithful to the principles which have actuated his conduct at all times, his Imperial Majesty is guided by no view of conquest. The sentiments of moderation which have ever characterized his policy are still the same, after the decisive successes with which Divine Providence has blessed his legitimate efforts. Peace and independence shall be their result. — These his Majesty offers, together with his assistance, to every people, who, being at present obliged to oppose him, shall abandon the cause of Napoleon, in order to follow that of their real interest. I invite them to take advantage of the fortunate opening which the Russian armies have produced, and to unite themselves with them in the pursuit of an enemy whose precipitate flight has discovered its loss of power. It is to Prussia in particular to which this invitation is addressed. It is the intention of his Imperial Majesty to put an end to the calamities by which she is oppressed, to demonstrate to her King the friendship which he preserves for him, and to restore to the Monarchy of Frederic its eclat and its extent. He hopes that his Prussian Majesty, animated by sentiments which this frank Declaration ought to produce, will, under such circumstances, take that part alone which the wishes of his people and the interest of his states demand. — Under this conviction, the Emperor, my master, has sent me the most positive orders to avoid every thing that could betray a spirit of hostility between the two powers, and to endeavour, within the Prussian provinces, to soften, as far as a state of war will permit, the evils which for a short time, must result from their occupation.

(Signed) The Marshal Commander in Chief of the Armies,  
PRINCE KOUTOUSOFF SMOLENSKO.

#### PROCLAMATION.

When the Emperor of All the Russias

was com  
take arm  
Imperial  
combinat  
mate of  
war mig  
pendence  
stancy,  
a series  
mander  
lensko,  
Niemen,  
nued to  
riod has  
that art,  
wars,) o  
the succe  
ever mo  
penned,  
Ocular v  
facts to  
before th  
those cou  
nation. I  
in a cam  
tion, 13  
taken fro  
of cannon  
waggon  
list of th  
hereunto  
an estim  
superior  
It is suff  
dred tho  
who pen  
thirty th  
be favou  
their cou  
Emperor  
frontiers  
to Europ  
advantag  
personal  
peror of  
ciples of  
always f  
that poli  
neath hi  
vours to  
resist th  
which h  
years.  
ought to  
of Franc  
portunit  
itself, a  
goodness  
tage of  
work of



was compelled, by a war of aggression, to take arms for the defence of his states, his Imperial Majesty, from the accuracy of his combinations was enabled to form an estimate of the important results which that war might produce with respect to the independence of Europe. The most heroic constancy, the greatest sacrifices, have led to a series of triumphs, and when the Commander in Chief, Prince Koutousoff Smolensko, led his victorious troops beyond the Niemen, the same principles still continued to animate the Sovereign. At no period has Russia been accustomed to practise that art, (too much resorted to in modern wars,) of exaggerating, by false statements, the success of her arms. But with whatever modesty her details might now be penned, they would appear incredible. Ocular witnesses are necessary to prove the facts to France, to Germany, and to Italy, before the slow progress of truth will fill those countries with mourning and consternation. Indeed it is difficult to conceive that in a campaign of only four months' duration, 130,000 prisoners should have been taken from the enemy, besides 900 pieces of cannon, 49 stand of colours, and all the waggon train and baggage of the army. A list of the names of all the Generals taken is hereunto annexed. It will be easy to form an estimate from that list of the number of superior and subaltern officers taken.—It is sufficient to say, that out of three hundred thousand men (exclusive of Austrians), who penetrated into the heart of Russia, not thirty thousand of them, even if they should be favoured by fortune, will ever revisit their country. The manner in which the Emperor Napoleon repassed the Russian frontiers can assuredly be no longer a secret to Europe. So much glory, and so many advantages, cannot, however, change the personal dispositions of his Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias. The grand principles of the independence of Europe have always formed the basis of his policy, for that policy is fixed in his heart. It is beneath his character to permit any endeavours to be made to induce the people to resist the oppression and throw off the yoke which has weighed them down for twenty years. It is their Governments whose eyes ought to be opened by the actual situation of France. Ages may elapse before an opportunity equally favourable again presents itself, and it would be an abuse of the goodness of Providence not to take advantage of this crisis to re-construct the great work of the equilibrium of Europe, and

thereby to ensure public tranquillity and individual happiness.—[Here follows a list of the names of 43 Generals taken from the enemy.]

LONDON GAZETTE, Feb. 2.

By His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, Regent of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty.

A PROCLAMATION.

GEORGE P. R.—Whereas, We have beheld, with the deepest regret, the daring outrages committed in those parts of England wherein some of the most important manufactures of the realm have been, for a long time, carried on; and being firmly persuaded that such outrages have been, in a great degree, occasioned by the wicked misrepresentations and artifices of ill-designing persons, who have deluded the ignorant and unwary, through the specious pretext of procuring additional employment and increased wages for the labouring manufacturers, by the destruction of various kinds of machinery, now most beneficially employed in the manufactures of this kingdom, and have thus seduced them to enter into unlawful associations, and to bind their consciences by oaths and engagements, not less injurious to their own welfare than destructive of the good order and happiness of society; and seeing that the extent and progress of the trade and manufactures of this country, which have been continually advanced by the invention and improvement of machinery, afford the best practical demonstration of the falsehood of all such pretexts: We, therefore, acting in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty, being anxious, by every means in our power, to bring back His Majesty's misguided subjects to a just sense of their own individual interests, as well as of their duty to His Majesty, and of the regard which they owe to the welfare of the community, have thought fit, by the advice of His Majesty's Privy Council, to issue this Proclamation; and We do, hereby, in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty, exhort all His Majesty's loving subjects strenuously to exert themselves in their several stations to prevent the recurrence of those atrocious combinations and crimes, by which the public peace has been so long disturbed, and the persons and property of individuals endangered and destroyed, and which have so justly drawn down upon the offenders the



severest penalties of the law. And We do more especially warn those who may be exposed to such seductions against the danger of binding themselves by illegal oaths and engagements, to obey the commands of secret directors, who, keeping themselves aloof, involve their deluded associates in all the guilt and peril of violence, robbery, and murder. And We do further, in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty, earnestly recommend and enjoin His Majesty's loving subjects, whenever it shall be found necessary, to have recourse to the salutary measures which the wisdom of Parliament has provided for the protection of persons and property.—And we do further exhort the proprietors of machinery not to be deterred from continuing the use and employment of the same, but vigilantly and strenuously to exert themselves in the maintenance and defence of their property, and in the prosecution of their lawful and meritorious callings, in the full persuasion that due watchfulness and resolution, exhibited in the first instance on their own part, will, as has been proved by recent experience, most effectually prevent or repel such unlawful aggressions: And We do further, in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty, charge and command all Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, Constables, and other Civil Officers, to continue their utmost vigilance and activity for the preservation of peace and good order, the prevention of nightly and other unlawful meetings of ill-designing and wicked men, and for the defence of His Majesty's peaceable and industrious subjects from the secret machinations and open attacks of the violators of private property, and the disturbers of the public tranquillity; trusting, as We do, that by the constant and active exertions of all well-disposed men, the misguided may be reclaimed, and the mischievous kept in awe, without the necessity of recurring to the chastisements of the law, which it will be our duty, as guardian of the general peace and prosperity of the realm, strictly to enforce, if unhappily the renewal of such atrocities as We have lately had to deplore, should again call for the infliction of just and exemplary punishment.

Given at the Court at Carlton House, this 1st day of February, 1813, in the 53d year of His Majesty's reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

#### FRENCH PAPERS.

All the reports which have been circulated are false. There has not been a battle at Koningsberg; there has not been one at Elbing; no general-officer has been wounded; and we repeat it, that no affair has taken place since that of the Duke of Tarentum upon the Niemen. Germany has nothing to fear, either from the intrigues of England, or the irruption of the Barbarians, who only knew how to defend their country by devastating it, and their capital by burning it. In short, as soon as winter shall terminate, the Russians will be chased, and driven back,—the quicker in proportion as they may have the further advanced. We are authorized to make this Exposé, to tranquillize the good citizens of France and Germany; and we add, that they may be certain, that if any events happen, we will immediately make them known to the public, with the same truth and simplicity with which were made known the misfortunes of the army in the 29th Bulletin. We do not know why the English attach importance to inundating our coasts, and the Continent, with pamphlets filled with false accounts; in short, all the misfortunes which the army suffered are stated in the 29th Bulletin; but what the *Petersburgh Gazette* add—that Eagles and cannon were taken from us in front of our banners (*bandieres*), is false, very false.—(*Moniteur*, Jan. 26).

*Letter from Prince Eugene Napoleon, Viceroy of Italy, to the Minister at War.*

*Marienwerder, Jan. 6.*

My Lord Duke,—The *St. Petersburg Gazette* have fallen into my hands, by which I perceive how unnatural and false are the relations which they contain of the events of November and December; I will stop only at what concerns my corps d'armée. It is stated in these papers, that on the 8th November, Platoff attacked me, and dispersed my corps, took from me 3,700 men, and my whole artillery.—These statements are false,—Platoff scarcely presented himself before my corps. He was repulsed in every part. If he has made some prisoners, he has not taken a single one with arms in his hands, but he may have picked up some single stragglers, who, during the night, to avoid the ex-

(*To be continued.*)